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ABSTRACT

This issue of the "School Intervention Report" contains a reprint from the "Youth Gangs: Guidelines for Educators and Community Youth Leaders." The juvenile gang has the power to motivate, direct, and positively sanction violence by its members. In examining the power of the gang to amplify violent conduct, there are at least three sets of causes that must be explored beyond the personal motivations of the perpetrators. These are the functions that violence serves for a gang, the impact organized crime can have on street violence, and the synergistic dynamics of certain cultural norms within gangs. Gang violence is a means to achieve desired ends, even though it is not good for society. One key to combating gangs is found in the power of the bonding process. Healthy groups should be fostered by educators and community-based youth leaders. Most gang members are still connected to the community in some healthy ways, and their lives can be reclaimed if threats to their safety are removed, if they are helped to develop skills and attitudes that promote nonviolence, and if they are given the opportunity to bond as members of healthy groups. Nine resource sources and organizations are listed. (Contains 25 references.) (SLD)

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SCHOOL INTERVENTION REPORT™

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Why the Brutality?*

by Alan McEvoy, Edsel Erickson, and Norman Randolph

The late model van with tinted windows posed no obvious threat as it cruised the streets adjacent to campus. It was nearly three in the morning on a weekend; there would be late parties and drunken students walking home. There, on a poorly lit side street, were two male college students. No one else was in sight. As the van approached and slowed, the students seemed oblivious to the impending danger. No doubt both had consumed too much alcohol. Perfect.

Without warning, the driver of the van hit the breaks and cut the lights. Out jumped six young men — members of the local affiliate of the Vice Lords — and surrounded the two students. Each gang member was armed. The four older members formed an outside ring. The two new recruits, who were being initiated into the gang, confronted the students. One of the new recruits held a knife, the other a pistol. Both were apprehensive about fulfilling their required task.

The older gang members said nothing. They had instructed the young recruits to show their stuff without help. In a nervous voice, one of the young recruits demanded the students' wallets. The surprised and frightened victims acquiesced without saying a word. Then the young gangsters demanded that the students take off their shoes. It was freezing and wet. One student instantly began to comply but the other student paused and offered mild verbal resistance. He said, "C'mon, man, it's cold . . . give me a break."

Continued on next page

CONTENTS

Why the Brutality? 1
Calendar of Events 6
Gangs, Schools, and Community Prelimnary Program 17
Back Issues 23

*Reprinted with permission by the publisher, from the forthcoming *Youth Gangs. Guidelines for Educators and Community Youth Leaders*, by Norman Randolph, Alan McEvoy, and Edsel Erickson, Learning Publications, Holmes Beach, FL. The more serious forms of battery, where there is intent to inflict intense pain, bodily harm, or even to kill, is of central concern in this discussion. This focus is on predatory violence of gangs as distinct from that occurring apart from gang activity. Our purpose is to examine the dynamics of why gangs can, at times, be so brutal.

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As if that was the needed cue, the young man with the knife cursed then slashed the student in the arm. Blood gushed as he cried in pain and toppled to the ground. Hovering over the injured student with knife in hand, the young gangster said, "Mother f - - - er, you loose your thumb if you talk like that again." The bleeding student began to cry.

The other student also fell to the ground and said, "Please, please, don't hurt us." He was told to "shut the f - - - up." But both students did what most would do — they continued to ask for mercy. Angered, the two young gang members began to kick them — in the ribs, the genitals, and finally in the face. Although nearly senseless with pain and fear, one student managed to say, "Oh God, please don't do this anymore." Then the young man with the pistol screamed, "I said shut the f - - - up," as he shot twice.

The first bullet grazed one student along the side of his face severing a portion of his ear — a near miss that could have killed him. The other student was shot in the knee; he was lucky to escape death, but unlucky in that he would be permanently handicapped. As a finale to the event, both of the injured, bleeding students were kicked several more times by the new recruits. Then all six gang members jumped into the van and sped off. The victims would remain bleeding for another 10 minutes before help arrived.

As the van slowed and blended with traffic, no one said anything for several minutes. Finally, the driver of the van — a senior gang member — said, "Let's see the wallets." The combined cash total was $27; the driver pocketed the money. When the gang members returned to their home turf, approximately a dozen of their peers awaited them. The driver of the van scanned the group, smiled, and said, "They did good." With that accomplished, the new recruits awaited their final rite of passage into the gang — being beaten by those who would then embrace them as full members — if they survived.

In considering this cruel scenario, one is left to ponder basic questions: How could these young people be so heartless and cruel? How could two young teenagers, who presumably would not have considered committing such brutality a few years earlier, transform so quickly into vicious, cold-blooded thugs?

Why Were They So Violent?

The motives behind the brutal battery of the two college students seem senseless — at least from a perspective that respects human life. To be disdainful of such violence, however, does not mean there are no reasons behind this brutality.

In a sense, gang violence is a communal event — rather like a ritual — linking members together in a common bond. They use violence to initiate new members into the gang. They share together the danger and the excitement of violence directed toward outsiders, they provide cover for one another, and they share events in stories that are passed on in an oral tradition. These are the ritual-like elements that help to create deep bonds of loyalty. By engaging in violence in the company of one another the gang causes its members to feel that their violence is normal, creating a subcultural dynamic that takes on a momentum of its own. The gang culture, with all its traditions and rituals, constitutes a whole which is

greater than the sum of its constituent individual participants.

Thus, it is the power of the gang to motivate, direct, and positively sanction violence by its members that must be an object of our understanding.

In examining this power of the gang to amplify violent conduct, there are at least three sets of causes we can take into account besides the personal motivations of the participants. The first includes the functions that violence serves for a gang. The second concerns the impact organized crime can have on street gang violence. The third involves synergistic dynamics of certain cultural norms operating within gangs — particularly those centering on violence as a way to solve problems, machismo, courage, heroism, personal power, and vengeance as a way of making life right.

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The Functions of Violence

The reasons behind the violence of gangs are many — some obvious, others more subtle and latent. Particularly in low income areas, brutality is used most obviously in youth gangs to:

- defend or expand the gang's turf,
- recruit or "jump in" new members,
- keep members from leaving,
- exclude or "jump out" undesirable members,
- exercise revenge or seek redress for perceived wrongs to the gang,
- enhance perceptions of the gang's power and invincibility,
- gain respect or dominance over others,
- enforce rules, and
- serve as a counterpoint or check on what some might call moral restraints or a moral conscience.

Regarding this last point, in the gang culture moral restraints on violent impulses are seen as dysfunctional. If the gang demands that a member engage in swift and certain violence, it would simply be too risky to have the person pause and engage in moral equivocation about the appropriateness of the violence. The more one responds to the peer pressure to be violent, the less one feels moral restraint, and the more one develops a kind of "psychic numbing" regarding acts of brutality. That is why, over time, even extreme acts of brutality, such as murder, can occur with the perpetrators not only failing to show remorse, but to the contrary, exhibiting pride in their violent actions.

Continued on next page

Bonding and Violence

Not as obvious, gang violence and its consequence — the constant threat of violence — have other important unstated functions, including strengthening gang members' attachments to one another (i.e., bonding). In turn, this bonding provides a basis for further violence, and the cycle of violence continues.

Violence does many things to a gang as a group entity, not the least is its tendency to bring the members together. Sharing the anticipation, danger, harm, and excitement of a gang's exercise of brutality against outsiders creates feelings of common identity and shared purpose, as was illustrated in the attack on college students by adolescents being initiated into a gang. The recruits who actually conducted the violence, the leaders who ordered and observed the violence, and those who were later told that the recruits "did good," were all sharing in the violence — they all felt somewhat united as a result of the violent actions of just two recruits.

It was not, however, the viciousness of the attack or the amount of time the recruits took to savage the college students that was most relevant for affecting feelings of togetherness. In fact, as a bonding agent, the occasional occurrence of violence can go a long way as episodes of fear and rage are relived, exaggerated, and contemplated. This is clear from the small amount of time spent on violence by even the most violent gangs. Violent acts are relatively limited as compared to the time gang members spend contemplating violence or the threat of violence. In research reported by the Bureau of Justice Assistance only 10 percent or less of the memberships of gangs are composed of hard-core, violent members (1997).

Furthermore, research by the Bureau of Justice Assistance supports the view that "most gang members are, with the exception of members of wilding gangs, only peripherally involved in violence; and most importantly only a small percentage of gang members account for most of the harm done by their gangs." (Bureau of Justice Assistance 1997). Yet there is a considerable impact on bonding among all gang members from even the rarest amount of gang-generated violence.

The bonding effect on gang members when gang violence occurs is similar to that occurring in large communities and nations. Members of the military, for instance, who experience combat tend to develop feelings of common identity; as do many civilians who identify with the military. The violent battles of the Civil War, which lasted only hours, are reenacted over and over again, year after year, reinforcing a Confederate or Union identity. Clearly, occasional acts of group violence define group boundaries, create or reinforce group identities, and bind members together in a common cause. Yet it is the shared vicarious reconstruction or anticipation of violence that is so much more relevant to bonding than is violence *per se*. In a sense, the violence serves a symbolic purpose: it represents group solidarity and group identity.

The relevance of the vicarious experience of violence can be observed in many other common situations. When people visit the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., they are mortified when they see pictures of what was done to people in the German concentration camps of World War II. With most visitors of both Jewish and Gentile persuasion there tends to occur a shared experience of compassion. The compassion is for victims of human brutality more than

a half-century ago. These experiences of compassion are part of the glue of bonding — a glue that attaches victims to victims, nonvictims to victims, and nonvictims to one another.

It is immaterial whether individuals are really or vicariously the perpetrators or victims of violence as far as bonding taking place. Entire religious and cultural communities have been strengthened in part by shared feelings of others being victimized or being persecuted.

This is analogous to military personnel who "bond" together when faced with adversity and external threat, or police officers who work together through a riot. The ethic is clear: the more you have enemies, the more you have to trust and rely upon your fellow gang members for protection, and the more you have to use violent means to assure safety.

When this principle is applied to gangs we understand why — when the police, school authorities, alien gangs, or others harass or attack a gang — they strengthen the bond the gang members have for each other. Gang members then feel that they are being victimized. The harassment thereby causes more problems for authorities as they attempt to suppress gang violence or other crimes. The gang becomes more united and resistant to pressures of change. Furthermore, harassment of a gang may cause it to grow in size and gain some respectability within the larger culture — which causes additional problems for society.

A few years ago, for example, the police in one southern California area decided to harass — by a mass arrest "sweep" of gang members — hundreds of youth. Almost indiscriminantly, any young person — including those standing on street corners doing nothing illegal — was arrested and brought to the station house. Many were merely bystanders. Immediately following these sweeps hundreds of young people from the neighborhoods joined gangs. One observer noted that the way these police sweeps were conducted contributed to the subsequent rise in numbers of youth joining local gangs. The observer also noted that many adults in the neighborhoods where the "sweeps" took place began to sympathize with the gangs for the first time (Arthur 1992).

It is clear from looking at community responses to the sweeps that one does not have to be a member of a criminal group to experience some identification with that group, especially when one believes that the group is being unfairly persecuted. Gangs, in this instance, gained members as well as status and compassion from outsiders when they were seen as being unfairly persecuted by the police, thereby causing many adults and nongang member youth to identify with the gangs. Such sympathizing occurred in spite of the violence and threats of violence these gangs imposed on nearly everyone in the communities where the sweeps took place.

We have noted that violence does not have to be experienced first hand for its bonding impact to be felt. Violence that is relived or anticipated by members of a group bonds them together — perhaps far more than does peace-keeping activity. For gangs, thoughts of shared violence are almost critical to their creation and maintenance. Gangs, especially highly organized entrepreneurial gangs, would have a hard time surviving if there was no violence. Without occasional overt violence there would be little credible threat of violence, which is their main vehicle for exercising

Continued on page 7

Calendar of Conferences

Safe Schools Coalition, Inc. — along with many other cosponsoring organizations — presents the following schedule of conferences:

Fifth Joint National Conference on Gangs, Schools, and Community

September 25-27, 1997
Holiday Inn International Drive Resort • Orlando, Florida

Seventh International Conference on Sexual Assault and Harassment on Campus

October 16-18, 1997
Holiday Inn International Drive Resort • Orlando, Florida

Third Joint National Conference on Transition from School to Work

November 20-22, 1997
Holiday Inn International Drive Resort • Orlando, Florida

Fourth Joint National Conference on Alternatives to Expulsion, Suspension, and Dropping Out of School

February 5-7, 1998
Holiday Inn International Drive Resort • Orlando, Florida

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control. In this regard, the public, through its agencies of law enforcement, schools, and community programs, faces a conundrum.

The riddle concerns how to avoid strengthening gangs via encouraging their retaliating responses, while at the same time challenging their criminal actions. There have been many "get tough" movements directed against gangs that contributed to the strength of the gangs. We believe, however, a partial solution exists in which educators, law enforcement, and community leaders can reduce the bonding power of gangs and in so doing lessen their ability to organize violence.

Gang Norms and Violence

There are, of course, both psychological and social forces behind any act of gang-initiated violence. Of the social norms operating within many groups — and particularly in gangs — is a force created by the juxtaposition of four highly touted cultural values that support the use of violence to solve problems. These are the cultural values of courage, heroism, machismo, and physical prowess. Gang members give great importance to being viewed by their peers as courageous, willing to be heroes if need be, being "properly" masculine (and we might add that even female gangs are adopting certain traits that traditionally have been considered masculine), and being strong and not a "wimp." Maintaining some semblance of social order is another cultural value that most gang members hold, but like the other values they tend not to know how to achieve order except through the use of violence.

Courage, Heroism, and Violence

It may seem strange to view gang members as heroic or courageous, but from their perspective the phenomenon is the same as individuals earning combat awards from their nation for their courageousness under fire. An enemy soldier who loses his life in defense of his country is seldom seen as being courageous or a hero; except, that is, by that soldier's nation — the enemy. This is the case with society viewing gang members who risk their lives for their gangs, and *vice versa* gang members viewing the police who risk their lives in defense of societal values.

Just as in the military, gang violence is planned, anticipated, experienced, and relived, and the concepts of courage and heroism shape discussion. The virtues of courage and heroism are used in justifying violence for defensive or expansion purposes, or for any one of the long list of reasons given above. For a gang member to defy family, friends, authorities, and other gangs in order to serve his or her gang is to sacrifice certain respect from others and to even be punished or killed, but to gain the respect of the gang. Giving up something to be a gang member is looked upon as courageous. The more the risk of being personally harmed in the service of the gang, the more that courage is attributed by the other gang members. And those who are hurt or exhibit extraordinary risk of being hurt are seen as heroes, i.e., they exhibit courage far beyond the usual expected service to the gang.

Thus, society has another problem in dealing with gangs that is not easily solved. Gang members highly prize identities connected to being courageous; yet for them,

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courage and heroism often can only be achieved through the occasional exhibition of illegal violence. That is one reason why violence plays such a major role in the gang culture.

Machismo and Violence

There are other group values and norms that are related to gang-initiated violence, particularly by male gangs. One is a variation of machismo — a value favoring the dominance of males over females, and that females are rightly subject to male exploitation and reprimand without any need for compassion. In such group circumstances the exhibition of violence against females is not disdained and is even seen as demonstrating manliness. When such norms exist in a gang, gang rape and other brutishness toward females can easily occur.

There is a related *macho* value that emphasizes the primacy of "manly strength" over being a "wimp." When this value is exercised, bullying behavior and beating up on weaker individuals — both males and females — is endorsed. Unfortunately, this can even become a sport, particularly of "wilding" gangs.

While not all male gangs are characterized by norms justifying the use of physical violence against women and "wimpy" males, nearly all male gangs have machismo as a core norm; that is, the dominance of males over females and the importance of manly strength — a cultural trait in varying degrees throughout much of the world. However, when coupled with certain other norms of gang cultures, machismo can spark the worst forms of sexual violence.

Even gangs opposed as a group to the battering and rape of women may tolerate gang members who are violent toward women and others outside of their roles as gang members; that is, if there are no costs to the gang as a group. Gangs often view such violence as a personal matter and not a gang activity. In other words, gangs that do not endorse violence against women do not always impede such violence by their members when it is done apart from gang activity.

Prowess and Violence

Some gangs, particularly when they reach the entrepreneurial stage, set clear limits on when, how, and where its members may or must be violent. This is one reason that unprovoked violence by gang members often lessens when gangs become more highly organized and engaged in illicit businesses — random and personal violence is simply bad for business. For these gangs, violence is to be used sparingly and judiciously for salient "rational" gang and leadership purposes. In such gangs, violence is mostly used for control by punishing members and external targets who get "out of line." The more successful gangs know that the threat of violence is far more effective in controlling others than violence *per se*.

For the individual gang member the cultural norm of being in control in a setting characterized by threat and danger poses two special problems. First, each member must consider violence as a means of achieving or maintaining status in his or her gang. Second, each member is likely to see violence as the only way of avoiding or reducing embarrassment, harm, threat, or loss

of control over self, i.e., of avoiding the consequences of being viewed as a "wimp."

Violence for Leadership or Prestige. There are three main ways of achieving authority or prestige in a gang. One is through wit and cleverness that produces benefits for the gang. Another is through sponsorship by gang leaders. Some gangs use the term "blessed" to reflect this sponsorship. And one is through the demonstration of the power to inflict harm on others for any insult or any resistance to one's demands. The Bureau of Justice Assistance (1997) reports that only about 10 percent of most street gangs are made up of "hard-core" leaders. It is the leaders who tend to be the most violent members in each gang; they aggressively threaten others and in so doing maintain their leadership roles.

Added to the willingness of leaders to personally act violently is the ability to cause other gang members to be violent as instructed. Gang leaders often cause rank-and-file gang members or recruits, who would otherwise not be so inclined, to engage in particularly violent actions. And those who would be so inclined are limited and directed in their violence. In fact, it is through ordering others to carry out violent actions that leaders gain maximum power. From highly organized crime families to local street gangs, the top leaders tend to have a history where they once exercised considerable violence themselves, but now primarily direct others' violence.

Whether acting violently or directing others to be violent, gang leadership requires an occasional demonstration of violence. This is because the threat of violence is at the heart of gang leadership. For the leadership in some gangs, violence may take the form of personally killing or ordering the execution of a gang member who has violated a gang norm, killing an outsider, or a ritualistic drive-by shooting. At a less violent level, physical abuse may be administered. Two gangs in Chicago illustrate such differences in the use of violence. In one, for example, if a member disputes the leadership's request, an order to be executed is almost automatic. In this gang, if two rank-and-file gang members have a serious dispute with one another and do not resolve it themselves, the leaders are likely to order the execution of one of the disputants. In another gang, executions are rarely ordered to settle conflicts among its members. Rather, after a hearing, one or several disputants may be subjected to extremely intense beatings. In both of these Chicago gangs, nonetheless, violence and the threat of violence are the keys to the gang leaders' control.

Because of the violence required of gang leadership, for the rank and file there are few ways of displacing leadership except through extreme violence. Rarely does merely threatening a leader cause him or her to give up authority. While sometimes a subordinate gang member may report a leader to law enforcement for some crime as a way of getting rid of a leader, this method seldom achieves status in a gang. Such action will seldom receive the endorsement of the gang members — for a "snitch" can never be trusted. On the other hand, violence is an accepted form for anyone to use to achieve power, while squealing is one of the worst sins of the gang culture. The ability and willingness to exercise violence, therefore, is sort of the "coin of the realm" as far as gaining or maintaining gang leadership.

To be violent, however, carries with it many risks — even to the leadership. Vic-

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tims may wait for the time to get even. Revenge is a strong and lasting motive in the gang culture. Thus, for a gang leader to insult or attack someone who has the ability to respond with an even greater imposition of harm would be to reduce one's status and power — a foolish act even in a gang. There is the inclination among gang leaders and would-be leaders to seek out those who are perceived to be weak or unwilling to strike back. They need to demonstrate courage and violence on those who are vulnerable. Of course, the norms of the gang culture, as in most other groups and nations, support the view that it is only advisable to attack others under conditions of minimal danger to self. Thus, guns displace fists and chains as weapons of choice in many gangs. The idea is pick on someone who does not have the firepower or the willingness to strike back.

Using Violence to Reduce Threat. Obviously the norm of using violence against those who are weaker has a reciprocal impact on potential victims. As reported by the Justice Department, there has been a large increase in the number of guns in the hands of nongang members in gang areas. In fact, there are more guns owned by nongang youth than there are among gang members. These nongang members claim they need guns for purposes of defense, often against gangs. However, they create major problems for themselves and authorities. Further, these potential victims carrying guns are, in turn, a threat to the gangs and cause the gangs to arm themselves even more. As a result many communities have an "arms race."

For the individual rank-and-file gang member, the importance of violence for survival also shapes reactions. The logic here is simple. In the street-gang culture, the world is a hostile place. The gang member, as well as the nongang member, is often vulnerable to attack from any quarter, at almost any time, with little warning or provocation. In such a climate there is always someone willing to take advantage of someone who is weak. As such, a type of cost-benefit analysis of responding to any insult or threat operates. Failure to let aggressors know that retaliation will occur if insulted or assaulted may be viewed as more costly and dangerous than the actual risk of striking back. To fail to retaliate is to have others see oneself as weak and thus invite continual victimization.

According to this gang-culture norm, gang members run a special risk of disrespect and victimization by their leadership and peers if they fail to violently respond to the slightest insult or threat from anyone other than their leadership — and even here, submission to victimization invites further victimization. As perceived in the gang culture, confronting violence with violence has two benefits: it gains respect and it reduces the risk of further victimization in the long run.

When Street Gangs Are Connected

In the illicit drug world, or where property such as stolen cars, guns, and securities are marketed, or where extortion is practiced, there can be no reliance on the judicial system to enforce "business" agreements. A report by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (1992) states: "In the drug world, buyers and sellers rely only on their own resources to enforce contracts. Violence is often the only effective preventive measure against unfair trade practices. A dealer, es-

pecially when selling to a new buyer, risks having his drugs stolen and even being killed . . . . A reputation for violence is the dealer's best guarantee that his business transactions will be accomplished as agreed upon. Once the reputation for violence is established, it is not as necessary to continue violent acts to protect transactions." In other words, the threat of violence is a critical feature of any gang that has any success at illicit entrepreneurial activities.

Violence Results from Faulty Finance Transactions. As almost anyone who has observed entrepreneurial gangs would testify, the breakdown in credit arrangements — critical to business — is a major source of extreme violence. As reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (1992), "Failure to pay for a drug delivery is a common source of violence. Those who do not pay can expect to be disciplined violently or killed . . . . Dealers often fail to pay because they were cheated or robbed, or their drugs and/or money are confiscated by law enforcement. Resolving credit arrangements are important for drug distribution networks, but they often do not operate in an orderly way. This accounts for the high degree of 'mortality' rate among drug dealers and organizations." It is only through the monopolization of drug sales in an area that such intense violence is reduced; but this produces more problems.

Street Gangs, Organized Crime, and Violence. The illicit business of drug production and distribution adds an especially onerous dimension of violence to the gang life of many youth (partly because there is little bonding in gangs organized for entrepreneurial purposes only). While not all street gangs are involved in drug sales as dealers, in most communities where drug sales are heavy and dependent on heroin, cocaine, or their derivative products, at least one local street or youth gang is involved. These street gangs typically are smaller but may be a set of a larger gang and operate at the lower level of an organized crime network that is linked to international drug cartels.

Yet most retailer street gangs are quite disorganized as compared to the gangs higher in the criminal network. Also, on the streets there are often competing gangs and competing individual dealers. To further complicate the life of an entrepreneurial street gang there is typically heavy confrontation with the police. It is extremely difficult for neighborhood street gangs, operating on their own, to be adequately organized and have sufficient resources to monopolize and protect drug sales in their area without competition from other gangs and freelance individuals. Thus many entrepreneurial neighborhood street gangs are subject to considerable violence as they fight over business rights and as they confront police.

It is alleged that the Columbia cartels, at the source, control close to 90 percent of the world's cocaine business where crack is produced. And they need distributors to fill this role. Wholesalers are used. For example, gangs like the Mexican Mafia and two Southern California gangs, the Bloods and Crips, are alleged to be heavily involved in the wholesale distribution of cocaine and crack in many areas of the United States. However, for cocaine or its derivatives to be distributed at the street level usually requires indigenous street gangs to be the retailers. The local gangs not only sell to the end consumer, but use violence to affect sales, enforce agreements, and protect their products and members. To be effective at the street level in the sale of illicit drugs requires major organizational support and discipline —

Continued on page 13

Seventh International Conference on

SEXUAL ASSAULT AND HARASSMENT ON CAMPUS

October 16 – 18, 1997

Holiday Inn International Drive Resort, Orlando, FL

Co-sponsors

Office of Civil Rights, U.S. Dept. of Education • Office for Victims of Crime, U.S. Dept. of Justice • American College Personnel Assn. • American College Health Assn. • Nat'l Interfraternity Conference • Speak Out: The Nat'l Student Coalition Against Sexual Violence • Nat'l Assn. of Student Personnel Administrators • Canadian Assn. Against Sexual Harassment in Higher Education • Nat'l Assn. of Secondary School Principals • Boys and Girls Clubs of America • Nat'l Education Assn. • Nat'l Institute of Justice • and other organizations.

Purpose

The plenary and breakout sessions, workshops, and other events will concurrently address reducing sexual assault and harassment • meeting the needs of survivors • policy development and implementation • judicial and legislative concerns • security enforcement issues.

53 Sessions and Workshops

Rape Awareness Education • Stalking • Peer Education Programs • Sexual Assault Organizational Assistance to K-12 Schools • Meeting the Needs of Men and Women • Roadblocks to Victims' Decisions to Come Forward • Military Academy Approaches • Fraternity Men Address Power Issues • Sexual Harassment Complaint Resolution • Liability and Ethics Concerns • Date Rape Drugs • Health Center Programming • Building Response Networks • Guidelines for Law Enforcement • Policies in a Religious Context • Survivor's Perspectives of Educators' Sexual Abuse • and 36 other workshops.

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78 Faculty:

Andrea Parrot, Ph.D., Cornell Univ. • Jason Dilley, Artist • Emily Spence Diehl, M.S.W., Florida International Univ. • Brown University Traveling Theater Troupe • Nan Stein, Ed.D., Wellesley College • Alan Berkowitz, Ph.D., Hobart and William Smith Colleges • Toby Simon, Brown Univ. • Ben Valasquez, Univ. of Mississippi • Mary Jo McGrath, J.D., McGrath Systems • Olga Trujillo, U. S. Dept. of Justice • Capt. Ardis Cecil, Ph.D., U.S. Air Force Academy • Sheila Hicks, Mayo Medical Center, Rochester, MN • Chief Kimberly Wible, J.D., San Francisco State Univ. • Alice Vachss, J.D., former Chief, Special Victims Bureau, Queens District Attorney's Office, NY • and 64 others.

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which is the direction that retailing of illicit drugs is taking at the present time.

Consider, for example, that in the 1960s and 1970s, as reported by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (1992), "New York City was one of the first places to have widespread heroin and cocaine use, the marketplace for buying and selling could be described as 'freelance' with only 'loose cooperation' among wholesalers, house dealers, and street sellers. A street seller, for example, may have dealt with different suppliers each week and vice versa. [Today there is in New York City] a vertically integrated illegal organization that is carefully controlled . . . . Each person in the organization has a specific role, and everyone works as a team: [At the street level] one person is a lookout, another seeks new customers, another stores the drugs for upcoming sales, another provides armed protection, and another collects payment from buyers. In a present day selling group, a retail seller and his team typically work in a given locale, work for a specific time, hand over all money to someone at a higher level in the organization, are paid at the end of the day in drugs, money, or both." With such role coordination it is more difficult for the police to make arrests, robberies of street dealers are lowered, threats from outside gangs are reduced, monopolies of territory are enhanced, and the frequency of overt violence is reduced.

Thus, in an area where high turmoil and violence by gangs once existed, it is now more occasional. One, however, ought not to presume that the threat of violence is gone. In fact, the threat of violence may be even more pervasive and forceful than before; it is just more subtle, and publicly and politically overlooked.

Personal Pressures for Violence

While it is impossible to describe all of the personal pressures for gang-engaged violence, four different motivational sources — felt economic needs, pathological states, ideological orientations, and cravings for a "family" identity — deserve brief consideration here. Many social scientists in discussing gangs address one or more of these conditions using varying concepts of alienation, particularly estrangement of youth from the dominant social institutions. At this point we merely wish to note that some motivations are more prevalent in certain types of gangs than others. In entrepreneurial gangs one can see the influence of economic desires on violence. In "wilding" gangs the psychological dysfunctions among the members contribute to violence. In ideological gangs, such as certain of the "skin-head" gangs, hatred, revenge, and efforts to change society are powerful motivators for violence. In occultic gangs — a type of ideological gang — mind-altering quasi-religious experiences can incite violence. And while other gangs are maintained for little ideological or entrepreneurial reasons, the gang family demands of all of its members that they at times act violently. In all types of gangs there are both personal and group pressures on all members to act violently under certain circumstances.

Analgesic and Limbic Consequences of Violence

Fundamentally, violence is a "high arousal" activity with several interrelated consequences. First, it relieves boredom by

Continued on next page

creating highly potent real-life drama. It is powerful action that commands attention; it produces a "limbic system rush" in which participants and onlookers alike operate at an emotional peak. Second, this high arousal condition may induce a "quasi-dissociative state" allowing violent actors to assume a valued altered identity.

Augmenting feelings of power and worth, this altered identity allows one to momentarily forget feelings of inadequacy, rejection, or other devalued aspects of identity. Like an analgesic that actuates a temporary high, violence can be a true power rush in which one feels "alive" and forgets one's pain. This is somewhat analogous to a compulsive gambler who literally "becomes someone else" when he or she is "in the action."

To illustrate the power of violence, the reader need only recollect upon his or her childhood. Most of the daily routines are but a dim memory. Yet it is easy to recall with great clarity the times one participated in a physical fight. Even being a witness rather than a participant can be recalled clearly. Moreover, the feelings produced can also be brought into sharp relief by the simple act of recollection. In this sense, the sensations produced by violent experiences take primacy over the routine experiences of daily life as defining personal events.

Even long after completion of the violence, individual and group recollection of the action — the retelling of the event as part of the gang's oral tradition — helps to sustain this valued feeling of "being alive." Such accounts are also an important force in shaping the identities of new recruits through vicarious learning. Thus, violence is the stuff of legend in that even vicarious participants can assume heroic identities in the gang epic.

Reaching Out

Gang members can be brutal; and research shows that individuals on joining gangs tend to increase their level of violence while those who leave gangs decrease the harm they inflict on others. Why? What may otherwise appear to be irrational or senseless behavior from the vantage of non-gang members, begins to make sense. Gang violence is instrumental; it is a means to achieve desired ends — but it is not good for society.

For educators and community leaders, even a small amount of gang violence should be viewed as a major impediment to the health of the citizenry and social order. We must reach out and help gang members to change, and better yet, reduce the number of youth who join gangs. But how do we do this when gang life is increasingly common?

One key is to be found in the power of the bonding process. Any gang prevention or intervention program that has facilitated bonding by individuals to socially healthy groups has achieved its objectives. The task is how to cause such bonding.

Healthy groups tend to reduce, not amplify, cultural norms favoring violence for revenge or the settlement of issues, or they channel tendencies toward violence into rule-governed modes, such as football, hockey, or even war. The same for the relevance of physical prowess, courage, and machismo. In the last section we will discuss in detail how bonding healthy groups can be most effectively fostered by educators and community-based youth leaders.

A supportive key is that while violence may be common in gang cultures and some neighborhoods, most gang members clearly understand that violence and crime are deviant within the larger culture. Gang members are certainly aware of the illegal nature of certain actions and most gang members — despite their empty boasting — are tense and concerned about their life styles.

But more importantly, most gang members, gang associates, and wanna-bes are still healthily connected to the larger culture in many ways. Most of their behavior is not harmful and we should not overlook their "normalcy." The violence that most engage in is but one part of a much larger constellation of normal social and personal behavior. If we assume gang members are not capable of rational and decent conduct, and if we assume that their only behaviors are of a deviant nature, then there is little hope that we can successfully reach out to them.

In other words, we can reclaim the lives of a considerable portion of the gang membership in most areas. We can, of course, most easily reach those non-hard-core gang members and associates — the 60 to 90 percent.

These individuals can be reached if threats to their safety are removed, if we help them to develop certain skills and attitudes, and if we provide them with critical opportunities to bond as members of healthy groups.

Resources

The Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence offers the following papers. For quick summaries from varying perspectives, they are worth reviewing. Request a catalog for other titles.

Osgood, D. Wayne. *Drugs, Alcohol, and Adolescent Violence.*

Elliott, Dilbert S. *Youth Violence: An Overview.*

Short, Jim. *Gangs and Youth Violence.*

Maxwell, Christopher. *Adolescent Involvement in Violent Hate Crimes.*

Contact: **Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence**
Institute of Behavioral Science
IBS #10, Campus Box 442
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To get on the mailing list for the **National Institute of Justice** and its library system, the **National Criminal Justice Clearinghouse** (NCJRS), they may be contacted by:

Telephone: 301-251-5500
Fax: 301-251-5212
E-mail: askncjrs@ncjrs.org
Web site: http://www.ncjrs.org

We also recommend that you get on the list for receiving notices from the **National Youth Gang Center.** They can be contacted by: Web site: http://www.iir.com/nygc/nygc.htm.

Another source is the **Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Dept. of Justice.** Telephone: 800-732-3277.

We also suggest subscribing to the:

Journal of Gang Research
National Gang Crime Research Center
9501 S. King Drive, HWH 329
Chicago, IL 60628
773-995-2108

Continued on next page

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Fifth Joint National Conference on Gangs, Schools, and Community

Preconference Workshops
WEDNESDAY • SEPTEMBER 24

The following preconference workshops are sponsored by the **Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), U. S. Department of Justice;** and the **National Education Association (NEA).**

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1. ***Hate Crimes in a Gang Context*** • Workshop leader Karen McLaughlin, Senior Policy Analyst, Educational Development Center, Newton, MA, will demonstrate a program and curriculum for dealing with hate-biased crimes. This is an advanced training workshop for law enforcement, victim assistance, and school professionals. Sponsor: OJJDP

2. ***Information Sharing for Community Agencies*** • Workshop leaders Mike Medaris, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Dept. of Justice, and Ellen Campbell, Office of Family Policy Compliance, U. S. Dept. of Education, in addition to overviewing the legal rights and obligations under the Family Education Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA), will feature exercises which demonstrate how FERPA can be used to facilitate information sharing. Especially recommended for school, law enforcement, and agency personnel whose involvement with students requires joint close working relationships. Sponsor: OJJDP

3. ***Exemplar Programs for Making Schools Safe*** • Workshop leader Ron Stevens, Ph.D., National School Safety Center, and Jerry Painter, Washington Education Assn., will discuss comprehensive and up-to-date assessments of school safety and security methods and policies. This advanced workshop is recommended for school administrators, teachers, security, law enforcement officers, and support staff. Sponsor: NEA

4. ***Alternative Schooling for Disruptive Students*** • Workshop leader Violet Wilson, teacher, Salem, OR, National Education Association, provides answers on how to effectively start and run an alternative school program for disruptive and violent students. This advanced workshop is recommended for persons responsible for the implementation of alternative education. Sponsor: NEA

WEDNESDAY • SEPTEMBER 24

Registration • 3:00 – 7:00 p.m. • Networking Reception • 6:00 - 7:00 p.m.

THURSDAY • SEPTEMBER 25

Opening Session • 8:15 - 10:00 a.m. • Welcoming Remarks

Co-chairs: **Richard R. Verdugo, Ph.D.,** National Education Association, and **Alan McEvoy, Ph.D.,** Wittenberg University.

Keynote Address

Combatting Violence and Delinquency: The National Juvenile Justice Plan

Shay Bilchik, Administrator, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Dept. of Justice, will emphasize effective approaches supported by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and offer guidance on how schools and communities can successfully reduce gang violence.

Presentations • 10:15 - 11:30 a.m.

1. ***Safe by Design: Planning for Peaceful School Communities*** • Nancy Skinner, Committee for Children, Seattle, WA.
2. ***Making Schools Safe*** • Deborah C. Conway, Director of Instruction and Training, New Jersey Education Assn., Jerry Painter, Staff Attorney, Washington Education Assn., and JoAnn Karsh, Director, Organizing Division, Virginia Education Assn. This session is sponsored by the **National Education Association.**
3. ***Gang Resistance Education and Training*** • Peter A. Merenyi, Gang Resistance Education and Training, Washington, DC. This session is sponsored by the **Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms; U.S. Dept. of the Treasury.**
4. ***Life Negotiations: A Process Curriculum Approach*** • Bruce Richman, Executive Director, Program for Young Negotiators, Cambridge, MA.
5. ***Character Education: Start Early – Finish Strong!*** • Jerry Corley, Ph.D., Cooperating School Districts, St. Louis, MO.
6. ***Leadership 2000*** • Rae Wilkinson, Ph.D., and Susan Holder, Ph.D., Mississippi State 4-H Dept.
7. ***Working with Inner-City Youth Apprehended for Violent Behavior*** • Malcolm Liggins, Family and Children's Service, Minneapolis, MN.

Presentations • 1:00 - 2:15 p.m.

8. ***Families and Schools Together (FAST)*** • Elisa Brady and Nicole Cooper, Westmoreland Human Opportunities, Greensburg, PA.
9. ***Girls and Violence on the Rise*** • Jennifer Tucker, V.P., Center for Women's Policy Studies, Washington, D.C. This session is sponsored by the **National Education Association.**
10. ***From Research to Practice*** • Moderator: Betty Chemers, Director of Research, Program Development Division. This session is sponsored by the **Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Dept. of Justice.**

11. ***Graffiti, Gangs, and Guns: From Outrage to Optimism*** • Ernestine G. Riggs, Ph.D., and Judson Hixson, North Central Regional Educational Laboratory, Oak Brook, IL; and Cheryl R. Gholar, Ph.D., Univ. of IL Extension Service, Countryside.

12. ***Youth Crime Watch of America*** • Vernon M. Jones II, Youth Crime Watch of America, Miami, FL.

13. ***Turning Them Around: Developing Responsibility and Self-Discipline in At-Risk Youth*** • Vicki Phillips, Carmel Valley, CA.

14. ***Responding to Gang Violence and Victimization: Promising Hospital, Community-Based, and Positive Peer Interventions*** • Joan Vaz Serra Hoffman, Education Development Center, Newton, MA; Judy Bonderman, Office for Victims of Crime, U.S. Dept. of Justice; and Maurice Woodward, student.

Presentations • 2:30 - 3:45 p.m.

15. ***Violence in the Home and Gang Participation*** • Donna Edwards, Director, National Network to End Domestic Violence, Washington, D.C. This session is sponsored by the **National Education Association.**

16. ***Safe and Drug-Free Schools Program*** • Bill Modzeleski, Director, Safe and Drug-Free Schools Program, U. S. Dept. of Education, Washington, DC. This session is sponsored by the **Safe and Drug-Free Schools Program, U. S. Dept. of Education.**

17. ***The Gentlemen's Club*** • Leslie "Boh" Newsom, Systems III, LLC, Bowie, MD.

18. ***What One School District Did to Help Curb Gang Activity: School Uniforms*** • Les Potter, Ed.D., State University of West Georgia, Carroll.

19. ***Putting the Pieces Together: Where to Begin*** • Enid F. Margolies, Ph.D., Director of Pupil Personnel; Chief Robert Simons and Capt. Eleazan Ortiz, Div. of School Safety; Connie Cuttle, Mediation Counselor; and Principal Ed Seto, New York Board of Education.

20. ***Internet Resources in Youth Gang Prevention*** • Larry Yates, Ph.D., ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. This session is sponsored by the **ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education.**

Plenary Session • 4:15 - 5:15 p.m.

Private Conversations with Gang Members

Melissa Caudle, Principal of an alternative school in Kenner, LA, offers suggestions and hope for bringing about positive changes in students who are seemingly "beyond the pale" of acceptance in a society that often fears them.

FRIDAY • SEPTEMBER 26

Plenary Session • 8:30–9:45 a.m.

Using the Judiciary to Reduce Violence

The Honorable Jerome Hornblass, retired Justice of the New York Supreme Court, will discuss a highly regarded and innovative program he helped develop to combat the hate-violent characteristics of gangs and other groups.

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Presentations • 10:15 - 11:30 a.m.

21. ***Creating a Gang-Free School Environment*** • Terry Jones and Adam Jones, California Faculty Assn. This session is sponsored by the **National Education Assn.**

22. ***Helping Victims of Gang Violence*** • Donna Ray, Senior Program Specialist. This session is sponsored by the **Office for Victims of Crime, U.S. Dept. of Justice.**

23. ***A Community-Based Discipline Committee: One Middle School's Experience*** • Faith Newton, Ed.D., Central Middle School, Dover, DE.

24. ***Crisis Management — Violence in Our Schools*** • Ralph E. Griffith, Executive Secretary. This session is sponsored by the **National Assn. of School Safety and Law Enforcement Officers.**

25. ***Camp JFK: A Community-Wide Collaborative Model to Meet the Needs of At-Risk Youth*** • Augustus L. "Skip" Little, College of Education, Valdosta State University (GA).

26. ***Teach Children to Read and Help Them Find a Job*** • Richard Arthur, retired educator and author of *Gangs and Schools*, Long Beach, CA.

27. ***Street Smarts*** • Frank Sanchez, Director of Delinquency Prevention, Becky Hasstrum, and David O. Reid, Boys and Girls Clubs of America. This session is sponsored by the **Boys and Girls Clubs of America.**

Presentations • 1:00 - 2:15 p.m.

28. ***Gang and Violence Prevention Workshop*** • Adrian Rodriguez, Student Management Dept., Plano ISD, Plano TX.

29. ***Issues in Information Sharing and Collaboration: A Local Perspective*** • Moderator: Jim Burch, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U. S. Dept. of Justice.

30. ***A Program for Students, Aged 16–21, Who Have Dropped Out of Traditional Schools*** • Marilyn Salafsky, Ed.D., Director, Boone Winnebago Regional Learning Center, Rockford, IL.

31. ***Systemic Assessment for Quality Schools*** • Thomas F. Kelly, Ph.D., Systemic Assessment, Inc., Shoreham, NY.

32. ***Delinquency Diversion through Talent Development*** • Rondae Drafts, Project Concern, Quincy, MA.

33. ***Empowering Youth with Critical Social, Emotional, and Cognitive Skills*** • Rosemary A. Thompson, Ph.D., Chesapeake Public Schools/Gate Lab School, Chesapeake, VA.

34. ***Safe Schools Handbook for Practitioners*** • Gwendolyn J. Cooke, Ph.D., Director of Urban Services, National Assn. of Secondary School Principals, Reston, VA. This session sponsored by **National Assn. of Secondary School Principals.**

Presentations • 2:30 - 3:45 p.m.

35. ***Gangs — A Community and School Approach to the Problem*** • Edward A. Sullivan, Ph.D., Providence College, Providence, RI.

36. ***Cops and Schools — Working Together to Build Our Children's Future*** • Michelle Edgett, Roswell Independent School District; and Officer Kevin Moore, Roswel Police Dept., Roswell, NM.

37. ***Gender and Race/Ethnicity as Factors in Gang Involvement*** • G. David Curry, Ph.D., and Jody Miller, Ph.d., Univ. of Missouri – St. Louis; and Finn-Aage Esbensen, Ph.D., Dept. of Criminal Justice, Univ. of Nebraska at Omaha. This session is sponsored by the **National Institute of Justice, U.S. Dept. of Justice.**

38. ***Personality Profile of the Anti-Social Youth*** • Judy F. Kuniba, Virginia Beach City Schools, Chesapeake, VA.

39. ***Practical Solutions toward Ensuring Safe Schools*** • Melissa Jamula, Ed.D., and Timothy Daley, Reading School District, Reading, PA.

Plenary Session • 4:15 - 5:15 p.m.

Non-Violence: A Paradigm for Youth

Azim Khamisa, founder of the Tariq Khamisa Foundation, who had a son killed by a gang, will discuss violence-impact forums he conducts in schools and offer guidance on how communities can benefit from the lessons he and his family have learned. Sponsored by the **Office for Victims of Crime, U.S. Dept. of Justice.**

Plenary Session • 7:30 – 8:30 p.m. • Invited Speaker

Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT), will address legislative issues affecting school safety.

SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 27

Plenary Session • 8:45 – 10:00 a.m.

Gang Life from the Inside: A Family Matter

Deputy Sheriff Mike Monroe with his son **Chris Monroe,** who spent years as a member of the Vice Lords and eventually rose to a position of power, will offer a deeply personal, moving, and insightful account of how Chris became involved in a gang culture, how this involvement affected the family, and how gang members can be helped to change — even when deeply entrenched.

Plenary Session • 10:30 - 12:00 noon

Current Debates and New Directions

Moderator: **Richard R. Verdugo, Ph.D.,** National Education Assn. This wrap-up panel will address questions and comments from conference attendees on gang, school, and community issues.

Fifth Joint National Conference on Gangs, Schools, and Community

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